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MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens the Senate and House of Representatives:

The guardianship of the interests of this Commonwealth, which fall within the province of its civil government, has by the favor of Providence, been committed to me. I draw the attention of your Honorable Bodies to the purpose of my execution. If we would discharge, in the best manner, the duties it involves, we shall begin and end every thing, with a recognition of our dependence upon Him from whom all good counsel and all just works proceed; while His claims upon our fidelity to Himself, will become an ever-present incentive to fidelity in the service of the people we represent.

The year which is drawing toward a close has been one of prosperity to our people. Though threatened drought has repeatedly filled them with apprehension and alarm, they have finally been permitted to reap an abundant harvest,—thus happily finding increased motives to gratitude, in deliverances from impending danger, rendered the more impressive by strong contrast with less favored portions of our country.

A great trust has been committed to us, as the constituted guardians of the interests of this people. If, in the struggles connected with the election which has sent us here, we have suffered unworthy passions to gain the ascendancy, as they too often do in political contests, we cannot come here and enter upon the sober work of surveying our responsibilities, without disavowing them, and taking each other by the hand as fellow citizens, and brethren, and striving together for the great ends for which they established the government we have been appointed to administer. How shall we best accomplish these ends, within the brief space of an annual session? Is a question to which you will allow me briefly to invite your attention.

The institution of civil government is designed to become an actively beneficent agency. The restraint of force, by providing security, and by preventing the selfishness of individuals, law derives its energy from a force extraneous to itself—the force of a deep and abiding sentiment of veneration for law—a love of order—habitual self-restraint—elevation and purity of moral feeling, and intelligence to guide it wisely in the complicated affairs of human life.

Civil government, then, accomplishes its object, not when it punishes crime, but when it presents its commission—by providing jails and penitentiaries, but by preventing the selfishness of individuals, by training the people, as far as law can properly interpose its power, to intelligence and the love of virtue. The fathers of our State felt this, when, with characteristic wisdom, they declared in the constitution, that laws for the encouragement of virtue and the prevention of vice and immorality ought to be constantly kept in force and duly executed,—not by providing jails and penitentiaries, but by preventing the selfishness of individuals, by training the people, as far as law can properly interpose its power, to intelligence and the love of virtue.

The present has been truly denominated an age of progress. The human mind is vigorously seizing, and carrying out to practical results, the magnificent truths which respect the relations of man to each other, and the appropriate means of accomplishing the purposes of human society and government. At the foundation of this vast movement lies the great work of Education—the work of developing, and giving a right direction to mental and moral power. And if human government is to be regarded as an institution designed to perfect the purposes of society, and improve the condition of man upon earth, it needs no labored argument to show, that education, thus defined, is among the highest duties of those entrusted with its administration.

Not should it be forgotten that there are rights correlative to this duty. Every child in the State has a right to be educated—a right as essentially reciprocal to the claim of the State to allegiance, as is the right to protection. The question whether the children of a State shall be educated, is no more a question of mere expediency, than is the question whether the people have a right to defend themselves from foreign aggression, and domestic violence. Indeed, protection from the effects of ignorance and vice is, itself, protection, in the highest sense, from all the dangers which arise within the limits of a State. Would we have obedience to law? Let the children be learned, in the common school, as well as at the domestic fireside, the duty of self-control, and the reverence for the law of eternal rectitude, written in the word of God; while the development, in just and harmonious proportions, of their whole mind, shall give them, at once, a conscious sense of the worth of mind, and an intelligent conviction of the great purposes it is fitted to accomplish.

All the children in Vermont—especially the children of the poor—stand in the attitude of just claimants, in respect to education, upon the fostering bosom, and guardian care of the State. And what has Vermont done to satisfy this claim? We have, indeed, declared, by law, that each organized town shall keep and support one or more schools, provided with competent teachers; that the towns shall be divided into school districts; that certain district officers shall be appointed; that taxes shall be assessed and collected to build school houses and support schools; and that, to the income arising from these taxes there shall be added, for the current use of schools, the annually accruing interest of \$10,000, for the erection of the State House, the State, from time to time, has become indebted to this fund, until the indebtedness now amounts, including the accumulations of interest, to the sum of \$224,300.50, while there is due to it from individuals, the sum of \$10,500.94; making an aggregate of \$234,801.44.

The expediency of continuing this fund has long been questioned. Upon full consideration, I deem it my duty to bring the subject to your notice, and to submit the question,

whether any present or prospective interest of the people requires that it be continued. The first question to be considered is, when will the fund become available for the use of schools; that is, when will the annually accruing interest be adequate to defray the expenses of keeping a good free common school, in each district in the State, for the period of two months.

The number of school districts in the 240 towns in the State—taking the returns for last year from 1839 towns, which gave 1839 districts, as the basis of calculation—may be estimated at 2730. If it be assumed, for the purpose of the calculation, that, by the time the fund will become available, the number of the districts will have increased ten per cent. on the present number—which may be regarded as not an improbable increase with in thirty-three years—we shall have 3000 districts to be provided, from the avails of the fund, with a good school, two months in each year. Estimating the expense of keeping such school two months, in the then advanced stage of educational improvement, at \$10, there would be required the sum of \$30,000, as the accruing interest of the fund, to render it available; which is the interest, at six per cent. on \$2,000,000.

The question now arises—within what time will the fund probably accumulate to \$2,000,000? Its present amount is \$234,801.44—the annual interest on which, at six per cent., is \$14,094.02. The average annual income from the six per cent. of bank profits, for the last six years, has been \$10,000.56; and from pedlar's licenses \$1,146.82; amounting to \$15,241.38; which may be assumed as the annual addition to the fund, hereafter, from these sources. The avails of the Vermont State Bank have nearly ceased to add anything to the fund, and should not be made the basis of any calculation for the future.

We have, then, the elements of the calculation, namely, the present amount of the fund, the interest thereon, and the probable annual income from the bank tax and pedlar's licenses.—The process of accumulation by annually compounding the interest, according to the act constituting the fund, will produce \$2,000,387.79 on the first of January, 1878; so that the children who shall be in life in that year, will reap the first fruits of the fund, if it shall be so long continued. This assumes, however, the doubtful position, that six per cent. interest may be realized throughout the entire intervening period of thirty-three years and three months, and makes no allowance for losses, and the expense of managing the fund.

The great question is now presented—what, in reference to this fund, is our duty to the generation of 1878? Admitting, of course, that it is our duty to labor for the benefit of that generation, the question is—will that generation be really benefited by a continuance of the fund? If we could send it forward to them, really invested in approved bank stocks, or other productive securities, according to the law of 1825, they might, perhaps, be benefited; though the expense of accumulating school funds, so large, as to have the effect of relaxing personal efforts, begins to be questioned. But so far as we send them a fund, consisting of a debt due from the State, we send them a fund entirely unproductive—a fund which, when it reaches them, will consist merely of a moral indebtedness to themselves. If we would make it otherwise, we must tax the people of this generation to an amount sufficient to extinguish the indebtedness of the State to the fund; and having thus drawn the amount from the pockets of the people, invest it in 'productive securities,' and in that condition, send it forward to the generation of 1878.

But who is prepared to do this? Who will vote for such a tax? None, it may be confidently affirmed. Nor, it may be affirmed with equal confidence, will our successors be willing to do it, five, ten, twenty, or thirty years hence, when the indebtedness of the State shall, by the compounding of interest, have become greatly increased. Of what benefit, then, will the fund be to them, unless it can, by some fiscal magic, be made spontaneously to yield the interest, and pour it into the treasuries of the towns for the use of schools?

The whole operation, so far as it proposes to benefit the generation of 1878, is a delusion. It is the people borrowing of themselves, and adding the annual interest to the debt against themselves, and sending this accumulated indebtedness forward to become the indebtedness of a generation thirty-three years hence, for the purpose of benefitting that generation. The truth is, that instead of sending them a benefit we shall send them a burden, which, if wise, they will, by abolishing the fund, shake off—namely, the burden, if they would carry the act, constituting the fund, into effect—of raising the interest on it by direct taxation, to be paid into the State treasury, minus the expense of collection, for the purpose of being sent by the commissioner of the fund back to the people, to be expended for the use of schools. It will not be very unnatural for the tax-payers of that day to enquire, why they should support their schools by such a complicated and expensive process, rather than by the simple and cheaper one of taxing themselves for the purpose, in their respective towns or districts.

If future generations would not be benefited by this fund, neither will the present.—This is self-evident. Why, then, continue it? In these remarks I am understood of course, to have spoken of that part of the fund which consists of the indebtedness of the State, amounting at this time, to the sum of \$224,300.50. An act to annul this indebtedness would leave to be disposed of, the sum of \$10,500.94, invested in individual securities, bearing interest. None would think of suffering this sum to accumulate, even with the addition of the six per cent. on bank profits, and the income from pedlar's licenses, with a view of making them available for schools, under the act of 1825.

The demand for funds to aid in putting in operation a system of common school improvement, such as the State needs, and public sentiment evidently demands, suggests the question, whether it might be given to a part, or all of these sources of income, when released from their present connection. It is believed that the annually accruing interest, on that portion of the present school fund, loaned on private securities, together with the annual income from pedlar's licenses would be sufficient for that purpose. We may thus institute a system of Supervision and Accountability, which shall give concentration and energy to the present efforts to raise the standard, and multiply the facilities of education, until the minds of the mass of our children—the happy mingling of the poor and the rich together—shall feel its equalizing and elevating power. Thus, while conferring substantial benefits on the present generation, we may send forward an influence, which shall flow on, in a continually widening stream of benefits and blessings to the generations that shall succeed us to the end of time.

Should it be found that no interest of the present, or of future generations, can be benefited by a continuance of the State indebtedness to the fund of which I have spoken, and the indebtedness should be cancelled, the State debt would stand as follows:

Due the salary fund banks, including interest to Oct 1,	\$30,389.81
Due the surplus fund,	\$14,812.28
Deduct the amount loaned out the past year,	11,004.00
	3,808.28
Salaries due, Oct. 1,	1,108.35
Due to towns for interest on surplus fund,	444.36
Total,	\$3,750.79
The balance in the Treasury on the 13th of Sep., was	\$18,417.97
Balance of taxes due,	\$3,232.56
Total,	\$41,650.47

To what extent the service of the coming year—a portion of which necessarily constitutes a draft on the present balances in the treasury and the balance in the State—may be effected by these balances, and the extinguishment of the indebtedness of the State, may be determined, upon the careful examination which ought to be made into every branch of expenditure, with a view to ascertain whether there can be any reduction, consistently with the public interest. In looking at the expenditures of past years, I have been struck with the large amount disbursed under the heads of 'Supreme and County Court orders,' and 'Clerks of Courts for the expenses of Supreme and County Courts,' which have risen from \$20,405, in 1839, to \$29,970, in 1845. The amount disbursed under these heads during the last seven years, has been \$184,300, averaging \$26,328 per annum. I would suggest the propriety of an examination into the heavy items which I have referred to, in order to ascertain whether any reduction in regard to which it may possibly be found that, in a course of years, abuses have crept in, requiring corrective legislation.

The treasury is happily relieved from a charge which, for many years, hung upon it, in the form of 'military orders,' which, for the five years, previous to, and including the year 1843, when they ceased to be a draft on the treasury, amounted to the sum of \$18,500. I am happy to say, that, by a law of last year, the people are relieved from the still more burdensome tax of annual trainings of the enrolled militia.

It may be reasonably hoped that, by a practicable, and not injurious reduction of expenditures, particularly in the heavy items which I have referred to, a sum may be saved which, with a fixed appropriation of the income from the bank tax—relieved from its present pledge to the school fund—might, under a moderate period, extinguish the entire indebtedness of the State.

The reference I have made to the items of expenditure in connection with the Supreme and County Courts—a large portion of which results from criminal prosecutions—suggests a topic of much interest, to which I would call your attention. The great purpose of criminal law is reformation. This purpose lies at the foundation of the Penitentiary system, which combines with imprisonment, the salutary influence of moral discipline suited to bring back offenders to the paths of rectitude and virtue. But this system is applicable, under our laws, only to the higher offences, leaving a large class of offenders without the benefit of any reformatory process, and substituting for it, confinement in the county jails—in some cases, with the alternative of the payment of fines into the county or town treasuries, for non-payment of which, imprisonment necessarily follows.

Whether confinement in the county jails is inflicted as a punishment, or results from inability to pay fines, it obviously has an effect entirely the reverse of that which it is intended to produce. The convict, thus thrown into a county jail, with little or no attention to any except his mere animal wants, without feeling painfully impressed with a conviction, that it is an unnatural and monstrous perversion of the power of punishment. Without employment or exercise, the convict is left to the corroding and maddening influence of the reflection that he is an outcast from the charity and sympathy of the world; and that the law, which is intended to be a moral discipline, is reduced to a mere system of confinement, tending to weaken his purposes of amendment, and prepare him for abandonment to the commission of higher crimes. There are cases in which this is not true, but they are the exception, not the rule. If the history of all the State prison convicts were fully disclosed, it would probably be found, that a large portion of them have been tenacious of county jails, in punishment for inferior offences.

The remedy for this evil is obvious. It is the application of the principle of penitentiary discipline to minor offences, by means of Houses of Correction in each county—to be made comfortable in their structure and accommodations, and to be connected with such arrangements for profitable employment of the inmates, and the exercise of such firm and steady discipline, as sound wisdom, and the spirit of Christian kindness may suggest. By such means, an efficient moral discipline may be secured, and the necessary continuance of their confinement, while the higher purpose shall be answered, of impressing upon their minds, by every thing they shall see around them, that they are bound to respect, not by the law of force merely, but by the higher law of moral obligation, as well as by the sympathies of our common nature.

Such a course of treatment would, doubtless, have a happy influence upon the 'troublesome and disorderly persons,' for whose restraint and discipline our laws make no provision, save that of the town poor houses, which, by the 21st section of chapter 17 of the Revised Statutes, are confined to the use of the town, and do not involve the evil of an unnatural mingling of the aged and infirm poor with the restive and troublesome, can seldom be made to accomplish to any considerable extent, the purposes of correction.

The bearing upon our whole system of criminal justice, of such a process of discipline as may be carried into effect in county houses of correction—especially in the cases of juvenile offenders—may be seen, by a simple comparison of the expense time, be visible in diminished drafts upon the State Treasury for the expenses of criminal proceedings; in a diminished number of convicts in the State Prison, and in increasing peace, order and obedience to law, throughout the community.

I have received the ninth annual report of the Trustees and Superintendent of the Vermont Asylum for the Insane, which presents a very gratifying exhibition of the condition and prospects of that institution, under its present excellent and efficient management.

During the past year 294 have been admitted into the asylum, and 263 discharged, and 263 remain. Three hundred and sixty-three have enjoyed the benefits of the asylum, within the entire year. Of the 99 discharged, 59 have recovered. Of the 48 'recent cases' discharged, there have been 23 recoveries. In the 10 chronic cases, 10 discharged, the recoveries have been 16. The great importance of obtaining the benefit of the asylum in the early stages of insanity, is thus rendered apparent.

The annual State appropriation for the benefit of the insane poor was increased at the last session of the General Assembly, to 2,000. In consequence of which the number of patients at the asylum has increased during the past year, so as to render the erection of additional buildings necessary. Additional buildings, to contain about 80 rooms, are partly finished and occupied, and will, it is expected, be completed by the first of November next, when all the buildings will be sufficient for the accommodation of about 300 patients, number deemed by the Trustees, to be as large as is desirable in one asylum.

The report states that such an amount of funds will be received from other sources, as to supersede the necessity of an application to the Legislature for assistance to defray the expense of the additional accommodations. Since the first of January last, 137 patients have shared in the State appropriation, of whom 19 have been discharged; leaving of these cases, 118 now in the asylum. The existing State appropriation has paid a little more than three-fifths of the expense of those who have been in the asylum, as State beneficiaries, during the past year; leaving the remainder to be paid by those who sent them there; and it is estimated by the Trustees, that the appropriation will be adequate to defray, during the next year, but one-third of the expense of the present number of State beneficiaries. They suggest the desirability of an increased appropriation, so as to defray nearly one-half the expense of that number. I concur in this suggestion. An increased appropriation would probably have the effect of inducing towns to place, and keep, at the asylum, insane poor persons who might otherwise be deprived of its benefits.

There is a class of cases in which entire recovery might be effected by a continuance beyond the limit of the present State appropriation, when a restriction to that limit might render the appropriation, as to them, of little value. It is very desirable that the insane poor should not, through insufficient inducement to towns to continue them at the asylum, be returned, uncured, to the miserable condition, which, through the humanity of our legislation, they may have been permitted to exchange for the substantial comforts, and the improving influence of that institution.

The establishment of the asylum, with its excellent system of treatment, while it has had the effect of disclosing the terrible secrets of insanity, has gladdened the hearts of the benevolent, with a reasonable hope of giving effectual relief to a large portion of the insane, and of ministering greatly, to the comfort of those who have, by long neglect, become incurable. No object proper for legislative aid, makes a stronger appeal to our liberality than this.

Upon entering on the duties of Commissioner of the Deaf & Dumb, I directed enquiries to the Superintendent of the American Asylum at Hartford, Connecticut, for the purpose of obtaining information, in sundry particulars, in regard to the past connection of that institution with the education of deaf and dumb persons, at the expense of this State, and to request him to report, in whole or in part, by this State—the times of their admission and discharge, the period of their instruction at the public expense, and the amount paid for each, by the State. I transmit the statement, herewith, to the House of Representatives, for the use of the General Assembly. It appears that, from the year 1817, but principally since the year 1825, 113 have been educated, in whole or in part, by this State, at an expense, up to the 1st of May last, of the sum of \$33,115.25.

I have made orders for the admission into the Asylum of 8. The whole number now in the Asylum, at the public charge, is 20.—Of the appropriation for this object, there has been expended, during the past year, the sum of \$1,960.91.

The Asylum is under a very competent and intelligent Superintendency, and is, evidently, deserving the continued patronage of the State.

In execution of my duty as Commissioner of the Blind, I have made orders for the admission of two blind persons into the New England Institution for the blind, at Boston. The expenditure for the support of the blind, during the past year has been \$1,120. In execution of the law of the last session providing for a Geological Survey of the State, I appointed Professor Charles B. Adams, of Middlebury, Principal Geologist. Mr. Adams entered on the duties of the appointment in March last; since which time he has been laboriously engaged, with the aid of well qualified assistants, in prosecuting a Geological and Mineralogical survey of the State. The law having made it the duty of the Geologist to report annually to the Governor, the progress of the work, he has made to me his first annual report, which I shall hereafter communicate to both branches of the General Assembly.

estimate for the expenses of the next year, which I will transmit for the consideration of the General Assembly.

The law authorizing the survey, makes no provision for preserving suits of specimens for any purpose. The preservation of a suit to form a State cabinet being, however, obviously indispensable, I have given orders to the Geologist to that effect. I have received formal applications for suits of specimens, from Middlebury College, from the Medical Colleges at Woodstock and Castleton, and from the Troy Conference Academy at Poulney. The obvious importance of having collections of specimens illustrating the geology and mineralogy of the State, to form cabinets in these institutions, as well as in Vermont and Norwich Universities, has induced me, though without authority of law, to direct the Geologist to make his collection sufficiently large, to enable him to furnish complete sets to all these institutions,—in regard to which I confidently anticipate the sanction of the General Assembly, in the small additional appropriation which may be necessary to meet the additional expense.

I am happy to say that a deep and general interest has been manifested by the people, in the survey as it has progressed; which, it is hoped, may be regarded as an earnest of what is to be expected through its entire course. The science of Geology, though possessing high practical interest, is but little understood by the mass of the people. I regard it, therefore, as not among the least important benefits of the survey, which the liberality of the General Assembly has authorized, that it will awaken among all classes a more general interest in the science, and have the effect of directing the active minds of our people—especially the young of both sexes—to its study—a study so well adapted to discipline, expand and elevate the mind, while it goes forth to investigate and admire the useful and mysterious, the beautiful and sublime of the Creator's works.

By a resolution of the General Assembly, passed at the last session, it was made the duty of the Governor to request the delivery by the General Government, of 'the four brass cannon, taken by the Green Mountain Boys, from the British at Bennington, on the 16th of August 1777,' and to cause the same when received, to be deposited in the State House. In obedience to the requirement of this resolution, I addressed the Secretary of War on the 21st of January last, requesting the delivery of the cannon. To this I received a reply, dated the 20th of February, saying that, 'should the guns referred to, be found in the possession of the ordinance corps, they are among the other trophies of the war of the revolution, and are held as public property of the United States,' and suggesting an application to Congress for an order for their delivery.

In reply to a subsequent communication from me, asking that an enquiry might be made, for the purpose of ascertaining the number of the cannon taken at Bennington, then in the possession of the United States, and their location, I received a letter from the Secretary of War, covering a report from the Ordnance department, by which it appeared that there were, at the United States arsenal at Washington, two brass guns, reported as three pounders, and marked 'taken from the Germans at Bennington, August 16, 1777'; and that 'no other trophies captured on that occasion, are known to be in the possession of the government.' Copies of this correspondence, numbered from 1 to 5 inclusive, are herewith communicated to each branch of the General Assembly.

An application to Congress being thus rendered necessary, I recommend such further action as shall be deemed appropriate to effect the application and render it available.

The necessity of more efficient provision for preventing the evils resulting from the practice of taking unlawful interest, induces me again to invite to the attention of the General Assembly.

Our laws have long prohibited the taking of interest above the rate of six per centum per annum. All the reasons which have induced the enactment and continuance of the prohibition, obviously urge its enforcement. Indeed it is urged by the additional consideration that habitual impunity to the violation of any law, tends to weaken the force of all law. If the law is to remain on the statute book, it should not be left without adequate provision for its enforcement. No such provision now exists. The only remedy is for an action of money had and received to goods sold and delivered, for the recovery of the interest received unlawfully, to be sustained by common law evidence as a sum of money, can very rarely be made available. To leave the enforcement of so important a right to the chance discovery of testimony to a transaction, which from its very nature, is guarded with the profoundest secrecy, is but a mockery of justice.

on securing sectional ascendancy, or ministering to purposes of political ambition, as to lose sight, too often, of the just limits of the constitutional power.

Since the last session of the General Assembly, an important step has been taken towards the annexation of a foreign government to our confederacy. This has been done by the adoption of a joint resolution by Congress, declaring its consent that 'the territory properly included in, and rightfully belonging to, the republic of Texas, may be erected into a new State, in order that the same may be admitted as one of the States of this Union.' This consent is declared to be given upon the condition that the constitution to be formed by the people of Texas, shall be transmitted to the President of the United States 'to be laid before Congress for its final action, on or before the first of January' next, and with a provision among others, 'that new States of convenient size, and having sufficient population may, with the consent of said state, be formed out of the territory thereof, and entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution.'

To this resolution there was added another, to the effect that if the President should deem it most advisable, instead of submitting the foregoing resolution to the Republic of Texas, as an overture for the admission, to negotiate with that Republic, then that the admission might be effected, either by treaty, to be submitted to the Senate, or by articles to be submitted to the two Houses of Congress, as the President might direct.

Upon the passage of these resolutions, the President proceeded to act upon the first, and forthwith submitted it to Texas, as an overture for its admission. Upon the receipt of the overture, a convention was called, which has formed a constitution, which has been submitted to the people of Texas for their action on the 13th of the present month. It will probably be ratified, and submitted to the Congress of the United States at its next session, for the approval, which is an indispensable prerequisite to admission into the Union.

The question of annexation being thus an open question, the States may, with a view to its final decision, as well as in reference to their duty, upon a possible consummation of the measure, properly subject it to the ordeal of severe scrutiny. I deem, therefore, no apology necessary for inviting to your particular attention, nor for the expression of my conviction that Vermont should firmly resist every advance towards the consummation of a measure, so utterly subversive of her rights as a member of the existing Confederacy.

This media evil invasion of our rights is not to be regarded, or treated, as an ordinary violation of the Constitution, for which there may be a constitutional remedy in the interposition of the judicial power. No judicial power can effectually reach the case. Let the deed be done—the foreign State admitted, and its Senators and Representatives be actually in Congress, and, practically, a decision of the Supreme Court would be powerless. The truth is, the measure is essentially revolutionary. It is a fraud upon the Constitution, and utterly subversive of it—changing essentially, our domestic Federal relations and erecting a new union; of which neither the present Constitution, nor mutual confidence will constitute the bond; a union whose only bond will be, the apprehended evils of actual separation, since it is impossible that confidence or affection can exist where there is an abiding sense of flagrant injustice and usurpation.

Much has been said in regard to the 'Compromises of the Constitution' in favor of Slavery, and so sensitive are the South on this subject—so treacherous of the concessions wrung from the North, as the price of the Union, that the bare proposal, by the legislature of Massachusetts, to amend the Constitution by abolishing the slave representation in Congress, has been denounced as little less than treason to the Union. But this very compromise carries with it an irresistible argument against the measure of annexation. A slight consideration of the subject will render it apparent, that the compromise securing a slave representation, must have had reference to a union within the then limits of the United States, because it concerned a sectional interest, the adjustment of which, in the compromise, must necessarily have had respect to definite territorial limits—otherwise the balance might be destroyed, and the compromise practically nullified, by the addition of foreign slave States, giving to the slave interest an unlooked for and permanent preponderance in the Union.

And such nullification will be the effect of consummating the measure of annexation. The compromises touching the question of slavery will be at an end—no longer, as would be one of two dependent and reciprocal obligations between individuals, where the other had been violated. The truth is, that, at the time of securing the great and fatal concession of the slave representation—by whose votes in Congress almost every question affecting the relative interests of the slave and non-slaveholding States, including the question of annexation, has been decided—no (that) was any where entertained, of extending the bounds of slavery beyond the then limits of the United States. It was on the contrary, the universal expectation that slavery would decline, and at no distant period, cease to mar our Federal Union. It was in the spirit of this anticipation that it was declared, in the articles of compact embodied in the celebrated Ordinance of Congress of '87 for the government of the Territory North West of the River Ohio